

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY USOAS:FMNEIL:JD

APPROVED BY ARA:WDROGERS

USOAS:WSMAILLIARD

L/ARA:DGANTZ (DRAFT)

NSC:SLOW

S/S :RKUCHEL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 160737

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAS

SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

REF: LIMA 5274

FOR AMBASSADOR DEAN FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

1. FYI. RE GARCIA BEDOYA'S QUERY ON CUBA SANCTIONS
AT SAN JOSE. GIVEN RABASA'S PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON
SANCTIONS AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH WAS MEANINGLESS
IN THE JURIDICAL SENSE BUT CONVEYED THE CONTINUED POLITICAL
DESIRE OF THE MAJORITY TO RESOLVE THE CUBA SANCTIONS
ISSUE AS SOON AS A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT TO THE RIO
TREATY IS APPROVED, IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW THE SANCTIONS
ISSUE COULD BE AVOIDED AT SAN JOSE. MOREOVER, IF IT
WERE POSTPONED, IT WOULD PROBABLY LEAD TO A SUBSEQUENT
MEETING SOMEWHERE ELSE, PERHAPS IN MEXICO. (GARCIA
BEDOYA'S QUERY MIGHT EVEN SIGNAL A PERUVIAN INTEREST
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IN SUCH A MEETING.) WHEN COMPARED TO DEALING WITH THE
ISSUE IN THE NEUTRAL ATMOSPHERE OF SAN JOSE, THE PROSPECT
OF ADDRESSING THE ISSUE ELSEWHERE IS DISAGREEABLE,
PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CUBAN

PRESENCE AND PROPAGANDA EXPLOITATION.

2. PERU WOULD VOTE 100 TIMES A DAY TO LIFT SANCTIONS. THE PROBLEM IS TO KEEP PERU FROM PUSHING FOR A RESOLUTION AT SAN JOSE THAT WOULD CARRY AN IMPLICATION OF PUTTING A WHITE HAT ON CASTRO OR OF ABSOLVING THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT OF BLAME FOR THE ACTIONS WHICH WERE THE ORIGINAL BASIS FOR THE RIO TREATY SANCTIONS. WE ASSUME GARCIA BEDOYA, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CEESI, WOULD ATTEND IN SOME CAPACITY, EITHER AS THE REAL OR DE FACTO HEAD OF THE PERUVIAN DELEGATION. IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO TELL HIM IN A BROAD BRUSH WAY WHAT WE SEE AS POSSIBLY PRODUCING THE QTE GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION UNQTE, THAT THE SECRETARY SPOKE OF IN HIS HOUSTON SPEECH. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SO BECAUSE OF GARCIA BEDOYA'S REFERENCE TO THE BEARING IT WOULD HAVE ON PERUVIAN INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR DELEGATION AT SAN JOSE, OPENING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PERUVIANS WOULD BE LESS INSISTENT ON SOME OF THEIR EXTREME PROPOSALS FOR RIO TREATY REFORM IF THERE WERE A REASONABLE PROSPECT THAT THE SANCTIONS ISSUE COULD BE LAID TO REST IN SAN JOSE. END FYI.

3. ACCORDINGLY, YOU MAY TELL GARCIA BEDOYA:

-- ANY ACTION ON SANCTIONS SHOULD BE CONTINGENT UPON A SUCCESSFUL RIO TREATY CONFERENCE, WHICH WE EXPECT BECAUSE THERE IS NOW A GOOD MEASURE OF CONSENSUS ON THE SHAPE OF THE TREATY REFORMS, INCLUDING THE CHANGE IN THE VOTING REQUIREMENT FORM LIFTING SANCTIONS FROM TWO-THIRDS TO A MAJORITY. NONETHELESS, IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT WITHOUT A REFORMED PROTOCOL IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND A PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS FOR A COMPROMISE APPROACH TO THE SANCTIONS ISSUE.

-- ASSUMING APPROVAL OF A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT AT SAN JOSE, WE WOULD SUPPORT CONVOCATION ON THE SPOT--IN ORDER CONFIDENTIAL

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TO AVOID ADVANCE PUBLICITY AND SECURITY HEADACHES FOR THE HOST GOVERNMENT--OF AN ORGAN OF CONSULTATION AT SAN JOSE AT THE END OF THE RIO TREATY CONFERENCE. WE WOULD SUPPORT IN THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION AN APPROPRIATELY WORDED QTE FREEDOM OF ACTION UNQTE FORMULA, WHICH GARCIA BEDOYA WILL RECALL WAS FIRST PROPOSED BY THE PERUVIANS IN 1971, ALBEIT IN A CONTEXT WHICH WE AND MOST OAS COUNTRIES VIEWED AS JURIDICALLY INCORRECT.

-- WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF TAKING ANY LEAD AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE SURE OF THE VOTE COUNT, WHICH IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS WOULD DEPEND ON HOW WELL A QTE FREEDOM OF ACTION UNQTE FORMULA IS DRAFTED. THERE SHOULD, OF COURSE,

BE NO ORGAN OF CONSULTATION UNLESS QTE FREEDOM OF ACTION
UNQTE COMMANDS THE SUPPORT OF AT LEAST TWO-THIRDS OF
THE MEMBER STATES.

-- WE HOPE THAT AMBASSADOR ALVARADO'S STRONG SUPPORT IN
THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF CUBAN PRESENCE AT THE SAN
JOSE MEETING OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES DOES NOT REPEAT
NOT REPRESENT A SERIOUS EFFORT TO INVITE CUBA. WHILE
WE ASSUME THE CUBANS WOULD NOT COME, FORCING THIS
ISSUE WOULD DAMAGE BOTH THE PROSPECTS FOR THE RIO
TREATY CONFERENCE AND FOR RESOLUTION OF THE SANCTIONS
ISSUE.

-- RE OUR DELEGATION, TELL HIM THAT AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD,
WITH WHOM GARCIA BEDOYA HAS WORKED CLOSELY, WILL HEAD
OUR DELEGATION TO THE SAN JOSE MEETING OF PLENIPOTEN-
TIARIES AND TO ANY ORGAN OF CONSULTATION WHICH MIGHT
TAKE PLACE THEREAFTER. WE WOULD HOPE TO WORK WITH
GARCIA BEDOYA AND THE PERUVIAN DELEGATION TO RESOLVE
ANY REMAINING DIFFERENCES IN OUR VIEWS RE RIO TREATY
REFORMS AND TO CONSULT WITH HIM AS WELL ON THE SANCTIONS
ISSUE. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, INSTRUCTIONS, MEETINGS, SANCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE160737
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: USOAS:FMCNEIL:JD
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750235-0951
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507104/baaaaors.tel
Line Count: 132
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 SEP 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 SEP 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <14 NOV 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 971008
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, CU, PE, US, OAS, PFOR, SAN JOSE, (GARCIA BEDOYA, CARLOS)
To: LIMA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006